10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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628 of a land dispute. The two caciques then planned together how to get the murderer, and how to punish him." Today such disputes are taken to the Chilean civil authorities for punishment or settlement. Also, if land disputes arise between persons from different witrus maps, Chilean civil engineers are hired to establish a boundary. At the Collueipe meeting of February 9, a controversy which had existed for many years past regarding a boundary line between Mapuche in the Collueipe-Llaun area and those of the Llaucahue settlement was discussed. Mapuche on the Llaucahue side of the boundary had cultivated not only the land on their side, but also that adjoining it on the Llaun side. The men at the meeting decided to hire Chilean engineers to fix the boundary line.

648 As previously stated, in recent times the Chilean Government has
657 taken the enforcement of law and order upon itself and, hence, a cacique no longer has these responsibilities. The Araucanian country, like all parts of Chile, has its allotted resident Chilean police guard, the carabineros. Offenses such as theft, destruction of another's property, and injuries received during quarrels, are reported to them, as are also violations of laws, such as neglecting to keep fences in repair and thereby permitting animals to do damage to crops, or not building prescribed gates in fences that cross bridle paths. They gather evidence, hold hearings, and give orders. If their efforts are unsuccessful, reports are sent to authorities at Government seats in the area, and the case is tried by the Chilean courts of justice for Indians (Juzgado de Indios). Such courts were established, within recent years, in the towns of Victoria, Temuco, Nueva Imperial, Pitrufquén, and Valdivia. Murder is reported at once to these seats, and action is taken there.

FRANCHISE AND TAXES

• 646 An Araucanian man today may, and does, vote in all Chilean elections and affairs, provided he presents a carnet at the polls—that is, an identification card issued by the Chilean Government, a requirement for all voters in Chile. Women possessing a carnet may vote in local elections but not in general elections. No Araucanian woman was known to have voted at any time. Few of them ever leave the area in which they reside. Araucanian men had voted in the 1946 Chilean presidential election.

651 A tax is levied against land owned by Araucanians, something the Araucanians find incomprehensible and talk about with animated resentment. "I must now pay the Government 1,000 pesos in tax. For years, I have had to pay the Government for land that belongs to me,

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805 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a kūyem (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember policemen on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 8.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kolupan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Araucanian name
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	deumán antü
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	wün yelfe
"The morning"	liwen
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	deumán rapi antü
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	rapi antü
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	kolün antü
"The sun is departing, that is about 5 o'clock on the clock"	maltun antü
"The sun is disappearing"	deumán konüwe antü
"The sun has disappeared"	konüwe antü
"The light that lingers after sunset"	yépún
"It is getting dark"	dumiñ

asked their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "Here is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, to men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them.

Seasons were designated as wétripantu (or, according to Kolupan, themaʃ tripantu, "the trees begin to bud"); walan (much sun, "the time the fruit ripens best"); trafquim (or, according to Kolupan, afu tue, "fruit has ripened"); pukem (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

821 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 666 [622]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 562 [242]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [203]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [613]

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666 [613] often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 641 622 578 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

[428] A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These [671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested [648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.